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# BULLETIN

OF

## THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

NO. 224

FOUR TIMES A MONTH

GENERAL SERIES 24

MARCH 22, 1912

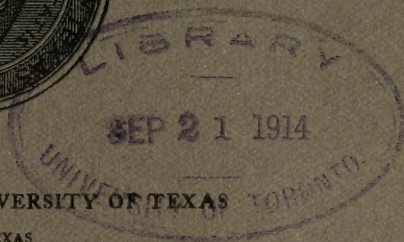
A PROBLEM IN THE USE OF PARALLEL SOURCE  
MATERIAL IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY

*THE CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM IN 1099*

FREDERIC DUNCALF, Ph. D.

Instructor in Medieval History

The University of Texas



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Cultivated mind is the guardian  
genius of democracy . . . It  
is the only dictator that freemen  
acknowledge and the only security  
that freemen desire.

President Mirabeau B. Lamar.



# A PROBLEM IN THE USE OF PARALLEL SOURCE MATERIAL IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY

## INTRODUCTION

### I. THE PURPOSE OF THIS BULLETIN

The purpose of this bulletin is to present an experimental source problem, in the hope that it may contain a practical basis for the selection and use of source material in secondary history teaching. A great deal has been said, first and last, about the benefits that can be obtained by source work, and in general there is agreement that it should make high school history teaching more interesting and more effective. In practice, however, there is much doubt as to the general success of the present use of sources. It would seem that the present difficulty is the lack of source books that present material arranged in such form that satisfactory results can be obtained without too great effort on the part of both teacher and student. Many teachers are making effective use of source material, but to a great extent their success is the result of their own individual methods and experience. As source books are commonly arranged, too much time must be consumed by the teachers in giving the student a suitable background and in working out details with the thoroughness that is necessary, to justify the results gained from such supplementary work. If the results that can be obtained from source work have not been over-rated, it would seem that the necessary helps and equipment should be provided, so that every history teacher may use source material to greater advantage than is now possible.

The amount of time that should be spent in source work can not be definitely determined. In the course on Medieval and Modern history, which is commonly given in the first and second years of the high school, other phases of history work certainly deserve far more attention than the extended use of source material. However, the second year student ought to have a taste of such supplementary work. If he can be interested by the use of source extracts, he will gain a fresher and more real insight into the past life that he is studying than can be obtained from text or secondary books. Certainly he should do some comparative and critical work and should be taught to exercise his judgment. This training can best be obtained by

the use of problems selected from source extracts. It would seem that the teacher with limited time and immature second year students, who have not advanced far in their history work, could obtain better results by deliberate concentration in source work than by attempting to use a series of documents that cover every phase of European history. Inasmuch as the use of even a selected number of the disconnected extracts in the average source book now on the market necessarily means superficial treatment, it seems far more practical deliberately to use only three or four source problems, giving enough time to each to make the work thorough and intensive. By such a plan, the student certainly ought to gain more valuable training and should have the satisfaction of really understanding the material on which he has been working.

The average secondary history teacher covers the entire field of history from Ancient to American and, no matter how well trained, can not be expected to be sufficiently familiar with the sources or even with the best secondary material of every field to interpret satisfactorily an isolated source extract. The best use of source material often depends on the ability of the teacher to point out the importance of significant details and such appreciation can not be gained without study and a knowledge of other contemporary source material. Under such circumstances, it is not to be expected that the teacher should be able to use many extracts effectively, especially isolated documents. On the other hand, if the teacher is provided with three or four exercises, each consisting of parallel extracts, and equipped with sufficient helps, it will be possible to become familiar enough with each problem to make it both interesting and profitable.

Certain definite results can reasonably be expected of such a method of source work. By using parallel extracts the student can be given small problems that will call for the practice of his ingenuity and judgment. In searching for information about a particular point, he will find conflicting statements and differences in the point of view that will call for the exercise of some critical ability. He will learn that there is often room for doubt about historical facts that some secondary books may regard as definitely established. Valuable lessons will be learned



about the importance of cautiously forming opinions of his own on other than historical questions. In a mild way, the student can be initiated into the more intensive form of historical method.

Such intensive study of parallel extracts should lead to a keener appreciation of the life and character of the people of the past. Students can be encouraged to look for incidents that reveal what manner of men lived centuries ago and they will thus acquire a more intimate knowledge as well as a more sympathetic point of view than the text-book can furnish. It can be brought home by such intensive source work that these people had hopes and ambitions, weaknesses and frailties very like human beings of today. One of the important results that the study of history should produce is the development of a capacity to appreciate the point of view of another person or of a different race. This means broad-mindedness and toleration. By studying the sources in detail the student can realize all this from his own experience and his knowledge of people, and he will find pleasure in applying such practical knowledge of human nature as he has acquired in actual life.

Not only should the student acquire a broader point of view, but he can be made more interested in history work by such an exercise. When he can be shown in a tangible way that history is past life and that human nature is very much the same even under very different conditions and in different ages, he will regard history as worth while and as interesting. By taking enough time for a small amount of source work and by doing it with thoroughness, the student will study his text-book with new interest.

Furthermore, there is an opportunity for a kind of intensive training that can be obtained only by work on such problems, whether made up from source extracts or secondary material. If the student is given a small problem adapted to his ability and making demands upon his ingenuity, he will learn the first lessons in the criticism and organization of facts, and in forming conclusions by the use of his powers of judgment. Conflicting statements in the different extracts will challenge his curiosity. He will become anxious to reconcile them and to find a solution for his difficulties in the same spirit that the solution of a

puzzle would call out his best mental efforts. By direction in working out conclusions from indefinite details, which must first be carefully examined, the student will learn the importance of using all information carefully. If the teacher can impress this on the student, it will be a start toward the realization of the importance of acquiring intellectual independence. There is no greater obligation resting on the history teacher than that of awakening the desire of the student to form independent opinions on all subjects. No form of educational training can have a greater practical value or will make the student more useful to himself or his fellow men.

In the belief that many of the present source books do not enable the teacher to obtain the best results from the use of source material, this bulletin is offered as an experiment. It presents several problems with sufficient material and sufficient helps and suggestions to enable teacher and pupil to solve them with satisfying results. It is hoped that the history teachers of the state will, if possible, try it in the class room. If the experiment should prove successful, it may result in a better method of arranging source material for history teaching and in greater emphasis on this phase of supplementary work than has hitherto been possible.\*

## II. THE PROBLEM

The siege and capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders in 1099 has been selected as the subject of the present exercise. The four most authentic accounts of this event, three of which have been translated from the Latin and given below, are of sufficient brevity to enable students to read them all and form their own conclusions. The problem in its completeness should be to reconstruct from the narratives given here a full account of the siege and capture of Jerusalem in 1099, with all the attendant circumstances; but it may be more satisfactory to assign small problems of a more definite character, covering the topics suggested below.

\*See Krey, "Suggestions for the Teaching of History and Civics in the High School," *University of Texas Bulletin*, 1912, pp. 18-22. This Bulletin can be obtained free on application to The University of Texas. It presents several problems with sufficient material and sufficient helps and suggestions to enable teachers and pupils to solve them with satisfying results.



The teacher should encourage the student to use all possible ingenuity and to give his reasons for every statement which he makes. The point of view or the character of each writer should always be considered in every instance where this might affect the value of any particular fact. The students should be asked to write reports on their topics to be read before the class. Since the other members of the class, as a result of their own work, will be familiar with the different narratives, they will be in a position to criticise such reports. Such exercises should awaken lively discussion and bring about animated recitation work.

*1. Subdivisions of the Problem—Topics*

1. Describe the fortification of Jerusalem in 1099.
2. What was the location of the different leaders during the siege?
3. What changes were made in the plan of attack during the siege? What reasons can be found for such changes?
4. Describe the first assault made by the crusaders.
5. How was the progress of the siege delayed by the lack of provisions and the poor water supply?
6. Describe the fight that Raymond Pileus had, on his march to Joppa.
7. What part did the fleet and Genoese sailors have in the siege?
8. What evidence of dissension and lack of harmony in the crusading army is to be found in the extracts?
9. By what means was harmony established among the crusaders?
10. Discuss the use of siege towers.
11. What machines and siege devices were used to obtain an entrance into the city?
12. What methods did the Turks use to defend the city?
13. Describe the first attack on the city. Try to give date and tell why it failed.
14. Describe the final attack that resulted in the Franks entering the city. What was the date?
15. What part did Raymond have in the siege?

16. What resistance did the crusaders encounter after they had forced their way into the city?
17. Describe the fight at the temple of Solomon.
18. How did the crusaders treat the inhabitants and defenders of the city?
19. Describe the sacking of the city.
20. In what ways do the chroniclers illustrate the general attitude of Westerners toward the Mohammedans?
21. What can you say of the piety of the crusaders?
22. Can you show that people in the year 1099 believed in miracles?
23. How long did the siege of Jerusalem last?
24. How was the capture of the city celebrated?
25. How does the importance of the capture of Jerusalem, in the estimation of the chroniclers, show the general western attitude toward the crusade?

### III. HOW TO WORK OUT THE PROBLEM

#### 1. *The Historical Setting of the Problem.\**

To understand the narratives and to get a sympathetic appreciation of the characters, the pupil must know something of the history of the crusades and the relative conditions of western Europe and the East.

The crusaders, who in 1096 undertook the conquest of the Holy Land from the Turks, were uncultured Westerners, who knew little about the higher civilizations of the Byzantine empire or of the Saracen world. The years spent on the crusade meant a liberal education to these people, who, except as they may have chanced to hear tales of the magic East from the lips of pilgrims and travelers, had previously known nothing better than the crude life of western Europe. The wealth and luxury that they found were beyond all their expectations, and at every city that they captured the leaders quarrelled; each was eager to obtain possession, to settle down in this wondrous land and build up a principality for himself. Thus, the religious purpose was often forgotten in the rivalry of the leaders, and it long

\*The best account of the capture of Jerusalem in English may be found in Archer and Kingsford, *The Crusades* (The Story of the Nations Series, Putnams, New York.)



seemed doubtful whether the crusading army would ever reach the Holy City that they had started out with such eagerness to rescue.

Thus Bohemond, the Norman adventurer from Southern Italy, who probably started on the expedition with a definite purpose to win territory for himself with his sword, outwitted the other leaders and obtained the splendid city of Antioch as his prize. Baldwin, the brother of Duke Godfrey of Bouillon, left the main army at Antioch and established himself at Edessa. Raymond, the count of Toulouse and the greatest lord in Southern France, was equally anxious to gain a portion of this rich land, but his ambition was checked at every point, and chiefly by his crafty rival, Bohemond. The ambitions and jealousies of the leaders threatened to wreck the crusade, but the people in the ranks at length grew weary of quarrels and demanded that they be led to Jerusalem. Thus the army forced the leaders to forget their selfish ambitions, and early in June of 1099, the crusaders arrived before Jerusalem. The jealousies of the leaders continued during the siege, and although Bohemond was not present, Raymond was always regarded with suspicion by the other leaders.

Later, the Westerners who remained in the East and made it their home came to appreciate the culture of their Saracen neighbors. They found it to their advantage to cultivate friendly relations, but in 1099, the crusaders had not been long enough in the East to adopt so tolerant an attitude. They had been impressed by the wealth of the country and hoped to conquer and rule it, but they still regarded the Saracens as enemies of their religion who deserved no consideration. Firm in their belief that all unbelievers were an inferior race, they had not yet realized that they could learn much from their Saracen enemies. Thus at the siege of Jerusalem, the crusaders show the same fanatical hatred that had characterized the beginning of the crusade.

Some lessons, however, the crusaders had learned. In warfare, where they were most expert and in which they were most interested, they had found it necessary to change their methods. The heavy western horsemen had too often found themselves helpless before the light Turkish cavalry that never gave them peace but would not come to close quarters and fight hand to

hand. Such methods of fighting were new to the crusaders. They also found that the taking of the walled cities of the East was a much more difficult matter than the storming of the less scientifically fortified castles of the West. From the Greeks, they learned how to besiege walled cities and many of these ideas were used at the siege of Jerusalem. Siege-craft and fortification were greatly modified in the West by returning crusaders, who used to advantage the knowledge which they had acquired in the East.

The crusade and the capture of Jerusalem made a wonderful impression on the popular imagination of the West. In an age when fighting and the type of religion that found expression in the crusades were matters of absorbing interest, it is not surprising that an awakening Europe should develop an universal interest in this rescue of the Holy Land. The extracts reflect this popular attitude. The idea, that the places where the Christian religion had found its origin, could confer actual spiritual benefit upon the pilgrim who visited them, was a part of the religious belief of the age. Its counterpart was the belief that relics, any articles that had been sanctified by some holy person, had a practical spiritual value and miraculous attributes. Thus the unearthing at Antioch of what was believed to be the spear that had pierced the side of Christ had been interpreted as a sign of the Lord's favor, and had resulted in a burst of religious fanaticism that had saved the crusaders from the dangerous plight in which they had found themselves. Similar expressions of religious enthusiasm occurred at Jerusalem.

However, the spirit of the crusade was not mere religious romanticism. The cold blooded ambition of the leaders deliberately exploited the religious feeling of the common people. The army itself fluctuated from intense piety, which usually appeared when they found themselves unprosperous and in danger, to moral laxity. The mediæval man was a creature of moods. The matter uppermost in his mind received absorbing attention to the exclusion of all else. Thus in trying to understand these crusaders, it is necessary to remember that they were naive and childlike, but although the ideals and standards of the age were very different from those of today, the motives that guided action were never-



theless intensely human even in the last days of the eleventh century. It is only by such an interpretation that the real spirit of the crusaders can be appreciated.

It is further necessary to have some knowledge of the men who wrote the accounts which follow.

## *2. The Authors of the Accounts*

The three extracts that follow have been translated from the Latin chronicles of the crusades. The writers of these accounts give the best information that we have concerning the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, for they were themselves eye witnesses of this event. There are other narratives of the taking of the Holy City which contain additional information, but, because the authors were not eye witnesses, we can not be so sure of the reliability of their facts. Often they merely copied earlier writings, or obtained their information from men who had been to the Holy Land; again they may have gone to the Holy Land later and heard the story of the siege there. In any of these cases they obtained their facts second hand. One other short account of this event may be mentioned. It is to be found in a letter<sup>1</sup> written by the leaders of the army to the Pope in September of 1099.\*

This letter and the three extracts printed below are the only accounts written by eye witnesses known to be in existence, and they can thus be regarded as the most accurate narratives of the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders. In comparing different statements, any bias or characteristic that might affect the point of view of the chronicler should be carefully considered. The writers present the attitude of different factions in the army as well as the different points of view of the leaders and of the common people.

The name of the author of *The Deeds of the Franks and other Crusaders* is unknown. He makes no specific reference to himself in the chronicle. Other chroniclers who used this book (one of them saw it in 1101) apparently did not know the author, at least they have not given us his name. The reliability of the work has been established by internal criticism, that is by

\*This has been translated and may be found in *Translations and Reprints, University of Pennsylvania, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 10.*

a careful consideration of the subject matter and by testing the facts given by the author by comparison with other writers. The account is in the form of a diary written from time to time on the march. The author was apparently not a man who knew the secrets of the leaders, but wrote down his own impressions and experiences, describing the events of which he was an eyewitness. He was religious, intensely interested in the crusade, and, because of his genuine and sincere effort to tell what he observed, his account is one of the best that we have of the first crusade. Apparently, the *Anonymous*, as he is called, was a Norman knight from Southern Italy. He accompanied Bohemond to Constantinople. Then for a short period he was with Tancred, but was again in Bohemond's service in 1098. Later, he became connected with Raymond of Toulouse, with whom he went to Jerusalem in 1099, where he witnessed the suffering and hardships as well as the final triumph. The *Anonymous* represents the attitude of the average crusader.

Fulk, the author of *The Deeds of the French Crusaders*, was a priest from Chartres. He began his journey with Robert of Normandy and Stephen, count of Blois and Chartres, but at Antioch, he attached himself to Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, whose chaplain he became, and he is thus our principal source for the story of Baldwin's capture of Edessa. He was at Jerusalem in 1099. The chronicle has somewhat the form of a diary and is full of the interesting observations that a curious Westerner of the time would make on such an expedition. Fulk represents the point of view of the crusader from northern France. The work is continued down to 1125, although the first part, containing the extract that describes the capture of Jerusalem, was probably written not later than 1105.

The third account, *The History of the Franks who Captured Jerusalem* by Raymond of Agiles, although the work of an eyewitness and the longest, deserves more cautious use. The author was a priest, like Fulk, and went on the crusade as the chaplain of Raymond (count of Toulouse), who led the crusaders from southern France. The account was written later than the others, probably about 1112. Count Raymond received favorable treatment at the hands of his chaplain, but this priest, who was canon of Puy, had personal reasons for writing a history of the



crusade. He was one of the men who helped to find the holy lance at Antioch. The enemies of Count Raymond, because he made every possible use of this relic, charged him with fraud, and his chaplain tried to vindicate both his master and himself by writing a history of the crusade. Thus, although his information was obtained first hand, our chronicler is biased and furthermore on the defensive. In any case where his information might be colored by such prejudice, careful comparison should be made with the other writers.

## THE NARRATIVES—THE MATERIAL FOR WORKING OUT THE PROBLEM

1. *The Story from "The Deeds of the Franks and other Crusaders," by an Anonymous Author*

Rejoicing and exulting, we reached the city of Jerusalem on Tuesday, June 6, and began to besiege the city in a marvelous manner. Robert, the Norman, located himself on the north side, near the church of St. Stephen,<sup>1</sup> which was built on the very spot where that first martyr won eternal happiness by being stoned in Christ's name. Next to the Norman duke, Robert, count of Flanders, stationed his contingent, while Duke Godfrey and Tancred prepared to attack the city from the west.<sup>2</sup> The count of St. Aegidius located himself on the south, on Mount Sion, near the church of St. Mary, the mother of the Lord, where Christ once supped with His disciples.

On the third day, some of our men, namely Raymond Piletus and Raymond of Taurina, went out on a foraging expedition. They encountered a force of two hundred Arabs and the soldiers of Christ fought these unbelievers. With the Lord's help, they fought so valiantly that they killed many of the enemy and captured thirty horses. On the first Monday after our arrival, we made an attack on the city and so bravely did we fight that if scalding ladders had been ready for our use, the city would most certainly have fallen into our hands. As it was, we pulled down the outer wall and placed one ladder against the main wall, so that some of our men ascended and fought hand to hand with swords and lances against the Saracen defenders of the city. Many of our men were killed in this attack, but the enemy lost more heavily.

However, for a period of ten days, we were not able to buy

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<sup>1</sup>The church of St. Stephen was built on the spot where Stephen was supposed to have been stoned. The church that the crusaders found in ruins was built by the Greeks about the 8th century.

<sup>2</sup>Tancred was the nephew of Robert Guiscard, the Norman ruler of southern Italy. With Bohemond, the oldest son of Robert, he led the crusading army from southern Italy. Raymond, count of Toulouse, was also count of St. Gilles, duke of Narbonne, and marquis of Provence. He was also called count of St. Aegidius. Raymond was the most powerful lord in southern France.





PLAN OF THE CITY OF JERUSALEM, 1099.

1, Ruined church of St. Stephen; 2 Gate of St. Stephen; 3, The Angular tower; 4, Tower of David; 5, Gate of David or Joppa Gate; 6, Holy Sepulcher; 7, Temple of the Lord; 8, Sion Gate; 9, Tomb of David and church of St. Mary; 10, Pool of Siloam.

bread at any price, until a messenger arrived announcing the arrival of our ships. We also suffered greatly from thirst. In fear and terror we were forced to water our horses and other animals at a distance of six miles from camp. The Spring of Siloam,<sup>3</sup> at the foot of Mount Sion sustained us.

When the messenger arrived from our ships, the leaders took counsel and decided that armed men should be sent to guard the ships and sailors at the port of Joppa. So one hundred men from the army of Raymond, count of St. Aegidius, under Raymond Piletus, Achard of Montemerlus and William of Sabram, left camp in the early dawn and started confidently toward Joppa. Thirty of these knights separated themselves from the rest of the band and met seven hundred Arabs, Turks and Saracens from the army of the Emir. The soldiers of Christ boldly attacked the enemy, but as they were greatly outnumbered, they were soon surrounded; Achard and some of the poor footmen were killed.<sup>4</sup> While this band was completely surrounded and all believed that they could not escape death, a messenger was sent to Raymond Piletus who said, "Why do you stand here with these knights? Lo, all of our men are in serious danger from the Arabs, Turks and Saracens and may all be dead by this time. Hasten to them and aid them." As soon as they heard this our men hastened to the scene of battle. The Pagans, when they saw the rest of our knights approach, formed themselves into two lines. Our men rushed upon the unbelievers, shouting the name of Christ, each determined to bring down his man. The enemy soon realized that they would not be able to withstand the bravery of the Franks, so they turned their backs and fled in terror. They were pursued for a distance of six miles. Many of the enemy were killed and one man, whom they regarded as a very important person, was taken alive. One hundred and three horses were captured.

During this siege, we were so distressed with thirst, that we were forced to carry water a distance of six miles in the skins

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<sup>3</sup>See note 9.

<sup>4</sup>The knights were always accompanied by foot soldiers, so the numerical strength of this band was larger than the number of knights would indicate. In the crusading battles the footmen outnumbered the horsemen 2, 3, 4, and even 7 to 1. The personal attendant of a knight was a squire.

of cattle and wild oxen, and between fetid water and barley bread we were daily in great want and suffering. Moreover the Saracens hid in ambush at the watering places and either killed and wounded our animals or drove them away to caverns and caves in the hills.

At length our leaders decided to beleaguer the city with siege machines, so that we might enter and worship the Savior at the Holy Sepulchre. Two wooden towers and many other siege machines were constructed.<sup>5</sup> Duke Godfrey made a wooden tower and other siege devices and Count Raymond did the same, although it was necessary to bring the wood from a considerable distance. However, when the Saracens saw our men engaged in this work they greatly strengthened the fortifications of the city by increasing the height of the turrets at night. On a certain Sabbath night, after the leaders had decided which parts of the wall were weakest, they dragged the towers and the machines to the eastern side of the city. The tower and machines were erected, equipped, and made ready for use during Sunday, Monday and Tuesday. The count of St. AEgidius erected his tower on the plain to the south of the city.

While all this was going on, our water supply was so limited that no one could buy enough water for one denarius<sup>6</sup> to satisfy his thirst. Both night and day, on Wednesday and Thursday, we made a determined attack on the city from all sides. However, before we made this assault on the city, the bishops and priests persuaded all by exhorting and preaching to honor the Lord by marching around Jerusalem in a great procession, and to prepare for battle by prayer, fasting, and almsgiving. Early Saturday morning, we again attacked the city on all sides, but as the assault was unsuccessful, we were all discouraged and fearful. But when that hour approached on which our Lord Jesus Christ deigned to suffer on the cross for us, our knights began to fight bravely in one of the towers, namely the

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<sup>5</sup>The siege tower was made of wood and was moved by wheels or rollers. The tower usually had two or more stories. In the lower story was a ram to batter holes in the wall. At the top were archers and various engines that discharged stones and other missiles. A drawbridge was also attached to the tower which could be lowered to the wall when the tower had been moved close enough.

<sup>6</sup>A coin that was used most commonly in Western Europe at this time. It is impossible to say what the purchasing value was.



party with Duke Godfrey and his brother, Count Eustace. One of our knights, named Lethold, clambered up the wall of the city, and no sooner had he ascended, than the defenders fled from the walls and through the city. Our men followed, killing and slaying even to the temple of Solomon, where the slaughter was so great that our men waded in blood up to their ankles.

Raymond approached the city from the south, but he was unable to move his tower close to the wall because of a deep ditch. So he announced that anyone who should carry three stones to the moat would receive one denarius, but notwithstanding this reward, the work of filling the ditch required three days and three nights. The tower was at last moved up to the wall, but the men defending this portion of the wall fought desperately with stones and fire. When the count heard that the Franks were already in the city, he said to his men, "Why do you loiter? Lo, the Franks are even now within the city." The Emir, who commanded in the tower of St. David, surrendered and opened that gate at which the pilgrims had always been accustomed to pay tribute. But this time the pilgrims entered the city to pursue and kill the Saracens up to the temple of Solomon, where the enemy gathered in force and the battle raged throughout the day, so that the temple was covered with blood. When the pagans were unable to resist longer, our men seized great numbers, both men and women, either killing them or keeping them as captives, as they wished. On the roof of the temple, a great number of pagans of both sexes had assembled and these were taken under the protection of Tancred and Gaston of Beert. Afterward, the army scattered throughout the city and took possession of the gold and silver, the horses and mules, and the houses full of loot for all.

Later, all of our people went to the Sepulchre of our Lord, rejoicing and weeping for joy, and they rendered up the offering that they owed. In the morning some of our men cautiously ascended to the roof of the temple and massacred many of the Saracens, both men and women, with their swords; the remainder sought death by jumping down into the temple. When Tancred heard of this he was filled with anger.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Tancred apparently wished to sell these people into slavery.

2. *From "The Deeds of the French Crusaders," by Fulk of Chartres*

On the seventh of June,<sup>8</sup> the Franks besieged Jerusalem. The city is located in a mountainous region, which is lacking in rivers, woods and springs, except the fountain of Siloam, where there is plenty of water, but it empties forth only at certain intervals.<sup>9</sup> This fountain empties into the valley, at the foot of Mount Sion and flows into the course of the brook of Kedron, which, during the winter, flows through the valley of Jehoshaphat. There are many cisterns, which furnish abundant water within the city. When filled by the winter rains and well cared for, they offer both men and beasts an unfailing supply at all times. Moreover, the city is laid out most beautifully, and can not be criticised for too great length or as being disproportionately narrow. On the west, is the tower of David, which is flanked on both sides by the broad wall of the city. The lower half of the wall is solid masonry, of square stones and mortar, sealed with molten lead. So strong is this wall that, if fifteen or twenty men should be well supplied with provisions, they would never be taken by any army. . . .

When the Franks saw how difficult it would be to take the city, the leaders ordered scaling ladders to be made, hoping that by a brave assault, it might be possible to surmount the walls by means of ladders and thus take the city, God helping. So the ladders were made and on the day following the seventh,<sup>10</sup> in the early morning, the leaders ordered the attack, and, with the trumpets sounding, a splendid assault was made on the city from all sides. The attack lasted till the sixth hour, but it was discovered that the city could not be entered by the use of ladders, which were few in number, and sadly we ceased the attack.

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<sup>8</sup>The Anonymous says (p. 14) that the crusaders arrived at Jerusalem on Tuesday, June 6th, in 1099. June 6th would be on Monday. The different chroniclers vary as to the date.

<sup>9</sup>The spring of Siloam was intermittent and the water flowed less frequently in the summer than in the spring. In the interior of the rock there is a natural reservoir, in which the water collected. A passage connects this reservoir with the outer basin, and when the water rose to a certain height, this passage acted as a syphon.

<sup>10</sup>This would be the 8th of June according to Fulk. According to the Anonymous an attack was made on Monday, the 13th.

Then a council was held and it was ordered that siege machines should be constructed by the artisans, so that by moving them close to the wall, we might accomplish our purpose, with the aid of God. This was done.

In the meantime, while we did not suffer because of any lack of meat or bread, our men and their animals were unable to obtain a sufficient supply of drinking water, for, as I have said, the region is dry and without streams of water. Accordingly, it was necessary to bring water to camp in the skins of animals from places four or five miles distant.

Moreover, the machines were being prepared for the attack, rams<sup>11</sup> and hurling machines.<sup>12</sup> Among other siege devices, a wooden tower was constructed from small timbers, for we had a very small supply of wood. According to a command that was issued, the parts of this tower were carried by night to a corner of the city. In the morning, it was very quickly set up and equipped with petrariae and other machines, at a safe distance from the wall. When the tower had been put together and had been covered with hides, it was moved nearer to the wall. Then knights, few in number, but brave, at the sound of the trumpet, took their places in the tower and began to shoot stones and arrows. The Saracens defended themselves vigorously, and, with slings, very skillfully hurled back burning firebrands, which had been dipped in oil and fresh fat. Many on both sides, fighting in this manner, often found themselves in the presence of death.

On the other side of the city, from Mount Sion, a great attack was also made on the city by Raymond and his men, where machinery was likewise used. However, on the side where Duke Godfrey, Robert, count of Normandy, and Robert of Flanders

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<sup>11</sup>The ram was a large beam or log, which was suspended by ropes or chains from solid perpendicular beams. When drawn back it was allowed to swing against the wall. It was necessary to cover the men who worked the ram with some kind of protection, as the defenders dropped stones from the top of the wall. By the use of the ram the wall was shaken down or a hole was made through it.

<sup>12</sup>There were various kinds of engines for hurling stones or shooting javelins. Ropes or cords were so twisted that when suddenly released they hurled a stone or other missile. Other machines were like large crossbows, and shot javelins and stones. The petraria was a machine which hurled stones as missiles. The tormentum was an engine operated by the use of twisted cords, by torsion.



were fighting, the battle was fiercest. Such was the work of that day. On the following day, the work again began at the sound of the trumpet, and to such purpose, that the rams by continual pounding, made a hole through one part of the wall. The Saracens suspended two beams before the opening, supporting them by ropes, so that by piling stones behind them they would make an obstacle to the rams. However, what they did for their own protection, became, through the providence of God, the cause of their own destruction. For, when the tower was moved nearer to the wall, the ropes that supported the beams were cut; from these same beams the Franks constructed a bridge, which they cleverly extended from the tower to the wall. About this time, one of the towers in the stone wall began to burn, for the men, who worked our machines, had been hurling firebrands upon it until the wooden beams within it caught fire. The flames and smoke soon became so bad that none of the defenders of this part of the wall were able to remain near this place. At the noon hour on Friday, with trumpets sounding, amid great commotion and shouting "God help us," the Franks entered the city. When the Pagans saw one standard planted on the wall, they were completely demoralized and all their former boldness vanished and they turned to flee through the narrow streets of the city. Those who were already in rapid flight, began to flee more rapidly.

Count Raymond and his men, who were attacking the wall on the other side, did not yet know of all this, until they saw the Saracens leap from the wall in front of them. Forthwith, they joyfully rushed into the city to pursue and kill the nefarious enemies as their comrades were already doing. Some Saracens, Arabs, and Ethiopians took refuge in the tower of David, others fled to the temple of the Lord and of Solomon. A great fight took place in the court and porch of the temples, where they were unable to escape from our gladiators. Many fled to the roof of the temple of Solomon, and were shot with arrows, so that they fell to the ground dead. In this temple, almost ten thousand were killed. Indeed, if you had been there, you would have seen our feet, colored to our ankles, with the blood of the slain. But what more shall I relate? None of them were left alive; neither women nor children were spared.

This may seem strange to you. Our squires and poorer footmen discovered a trick of the Saracens, for they learned that they could find bysants<sup>13</sup> in the stomachs and intestines of the dead Saracens, who had swallowed them. Thus, after several days, they burned a great heap of dead bodies, that they might more easily get the precious metal from the ashes. Moreover, Tancred broke into the temple of the Lord and most wrongfully stole much gold and silver, also precious stones, but later, repenting of his action, after everything had been accounted for, he restored all to its former place of sanctity. . . .

The carnage over, the crusaders entered the houses and took whatever they found in them. However, this was all done in such a sensible manner, that whoever entered a house first, received no injury from any one else, whether he was rich or poor. Even though the house was a palace, whatever he found there was his property. Thus many poor men became rich.

Afterward, all, clergy and laymen, went to the sepulchre of the Lord and His glorious temple, singing the ninth chant. With fitting humility, they repeated prayers and made their offering at the holy places that they had long desired to visit.

It was the eleven hundredth year of our Lord, if you subtract one, when the people of Gaul took the city. It was the 15th day of July, when the Franks in their might captured the city. It was the eleven hundredth year minus one after the birth of our Lord, the 15th of July in the two hundred and eighty fifth year after the death of Charles the Great and the twelfth year after the death of William I of England.

3. *From "The History of the Franks Who Captured Jerusalem" by Raymond of Agiles, Canon of Puy*

The duke (Godfrey) and the count of Flanders besieged the city from the north side, while the count of Normandy stationed his men in the space between the church of St. Stephen, which is located at the center of the northern wall of the city, and the angular tower, the one next to the tower of David. The count (Raymond) and his army prepared to besiege the city on

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<sup>13</sup>The byzant was a gold coin of the Byzantine empire.

the west, occupying the space between the duke and the foot of Mount Sion. However, because a ravine in the center of this space made it impossible to cross the plain and storm the wall, the count wished to move his camp and change his position. One day, while he was reconnoitering, he came to Mount Sion and saw the church which is located on the mount. When he heard of the miracles that Christ had performed there, he said to his leaders and companions, "If we neglect to take this sacred offering, which the Lord has so graciously offered us and the Saracens occupy this hill, what will become of us? Suppose that on account of our negligence they should destroy and pollute this church? Who knows that God may not be giving us this opportunity to test our regard for him. I know one thing that is certain; unless we carefully protect this sacred spot, the Lord will not give us possession of the Holy Places within the city." And so Count Raymond, against the wishes of the leaders of his army, ordered his tents to be moved to Mount Sion. Because of his action he incurred the displeasure of the leaders, who refused to move their tents or to change their guards during the night; each stayed where he had first pitched his tent, with the exception of a few who accompanied the count. However, by offering great financial inducements, the count was able to persuade such knights and footmen as daily served under his command to follow him.

This church is sacred because it contains the tombs of the kings, David and Solomon as well as that of the first martyr, Stephen. Moreover the most blessed virgin, Mary, visited this church during her lifetime, the Lord supped there and after rising from the dead, appeared there to His disciples and Thomas. On this spot, also, the disciples were filled with the Holy Spirit.<sup>14</sup>

Now, when the arrangements for the siege had been completed, it happened one day that some of the leaders of the army met a hermit on the Mount of Olives, who said to them, "If you will storm the city tomorrow, till the ninth hour (3 p. m.), the Lord will deliver it into your hands." They replied, "But

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<sup>14</sup>The church of Sion or St. Mary was rebuilt afterward by the crusaders in 1130. The Coenaculum was supposed to be the room of the Last Supper. The tomb of David was also there. Raymond gives other reasons for the sanctity of this church.



we do not have the necessary machinery for storming the walls." The hermit replied, "God is powerful. If he wills, he will scale the walls with ladders made of rushes. The Lord aids those who labor for the Truth." So, with such machinery as could be constructed during the night, an attack was made on the city in the early morn and it lasted till the third hour (9 a. m.). The Saracens were compelled to retreat behind the inner walls, for the outer wall was broken down by our men and some of them even climbed to the top of the inner wall. The city would undoubtedly have been captured at that time if the attack had not become confused and if our men had not become discouraged; moreover we lost many men. On the next day, no attack was attempted.

After this, the whole army scattered itself throughout the surrounding country to collect provisions, and nothing was even said of the necessity of preparing the machines that were needed to capture the city: each man was interested only in his mouth and stomach and, what was worse, they did not even ask the Lord to free them from such great and manifold evils and they were afflicted even unto death. Just before our arrival, the Saracens had filled up the springs, destroyed the cisterns and dammed up the brooks from the springs. . . . Thus water was obtained with great difficulty. There is a certain fountain at the foot of Mount Sion, which is called the pool of Siloam; indeed, it is a large spring, but the water flows forth only once in three days and the natives say that formerly it emptied itself only on Saturdays; the rest of the week it remained stagnant. We are ignorant of the explanation of this, except that the Lord willed that it should be so.<sup>15</sup> However, when, as we have said, the water did flow forth to us on the third day, there was such great crowding and haste to drink, that both men and cattle rushed toward the water and many of our animals were killed. Thus the pool was filled with the crowd and with the bodies of the dead animals. The bravest, fighting in a struggle of death, forced their way to the very opening in the rocks through which the water flowed, while the weak got only the water, which had already been contaminated. Many sick people dragged themselves to the fountain and with their throats so

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<sup>15</sup>See note 9.

parched that they were unable to make a sound, they stretched their hands in mute appeal toward those who had water. In the field were many horses, mules and cattle without strength enough to move and because of thirst they died in their tracks. Throughout camp the stench of the dead bodies was most sickening. Because of such affliction, it was necessary to fetch water a distance of two or three leagues, also to drive the cattle to such distant watering places. When the Saracens noted that our people were going to the watering places through the dangerous passes in the hills unarmed, they lay in wait for them in ambush. They killed whom they wished and drove away the flocks and herds. The situation was so bad that when any one brought foul water to camp in vessels, he was able to get any price that he cared to ask and if any one wished to get clear water, for five or six nummi <sup>16</sup> he could not obtain enough to satisfy his thirst for a single day. Nothing or very little was said about wine at this time: people talked about the heat, the dust and the wind and in this way they aggravated their suffering from thirst, as though this was not bad enough in itself. But why say so much about these troubles? Few remembered the Lord, for they paid slight attention either to such works as were needed to capture the city or to win the Lord's favor. . . .

Meanwhile, messengers came to camp, announcing that our ships had arrived at Joppa and that the sailors demanded that a guard should be sent to hold the tower of Joppa and give them protection at the port, for the town of Joppa had been destroyed except the castle and that was nearly in ruins, with the exception of one tower. However, the harbor is there, and it is the one nearest to Jerusalem, it being about one day's journey distant. All of our people rejoiced when they heard the news of our sailors and they sent out Count Galdemarus, called Carpinellus, accompanied by twenty knights and forty footmen. Later, he was followed by Raymond Piletus with fifty knights and William of Sabram with his followers.

As Galdemarus and his contingent approached the plains that are on this side of Ramla, he encountered a force of four hundred Arabs and two hundred Turks. Galdemarus arranged his men for battle so as to use his small number to the best advan-

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<sup>16</sup>The nummus was a Byzantine coin.

tage, placing his archers in front. Then he boldly advanced upon the enemy, trusting in the aid of the Lord. The enemy thought that they would be able to crush this band and rushed upon it, circling about them, shooting arrows at them. Three or four of Galdemarus's knights were killed, including Achar-dus of Montemerlus, a most honorable man, others were wounded; all of this was done by the arrows of the enemy. However, many of the enemy were also killed. Nevertheless not on account of all this did the fight slacken nor did our brave men despair of the mercy of God, but oppressed by wounds and death itself, they stood up to their enemies the more fiercely, the more that they suffered from them. But when our leaders, more from weariness than from fear, wished to retire from the fighting line, a cloud of dust was seen approaching. Raymond Piletus was rushing headlong into the fight with his men. Moreover, his men raised so much dust, that to the enemy his force seemed much larger than it really was. Thus, by the grace of God, our men were released; the enemy scattered and fled, two hundred of them were killed and much plunder was taken. It is the custom of this people when they flee and are hard pressed by the enemy, first to throw away their arms, then their clothes and lastly their saddlebags. Thus it happened in this fight, that our few knights killed until they were worn out, but were also able to obtain the spoil of all, even of those whom they did not kill.

After the pursuit was over, our men assembled, divided the spoil and then marched on to Joppa. The sailors received them with great joy, and felt so secure after their arrival that they forgot their ships and neglected to place watches on the sea, but entertained the crusaders with a feast of bread, wine, and fish from their ships. However, the sailors, careless of their security, failed to post lookouts for the night, and in the darkness were suddenly surrounded by enemies from the sea. When dawn came, they realized that the enemy was too strong to be resisted and they abandoned their ships, saving whatever they could. Thus our knights returned to Jerusalem after winning one battle and losing another. However, one of our ships, which was heavily laden, when it was seen that the rest of the ships were surrounded by the enemy's fleet, by the use of oars and



sail made its escape to Laodicea and told our friends at that port what had been happening at Jerusalem. From signs sent to us by the Lord, we knew that we had deserved this misfortune, for we had despaired of the mercy of God and had denied our faith. So we went to the plain of the river Jordan, collected palms and were baptized in its waters. . . .

About this time, a public assembly was held, for the leaders of the army were quarreling with each other. There was dissatisfaction because Tancred had occupied Bethlehem and had placed his standard over the church of the Nativity as though it was an ordinary house. (The question of electing a king of Jerusalem was also discussed, but the election was postponed till the eighth day after the city should be captured. This was the chief cause of trouble among the leaders.) Not in this matter alone but in other ways, our affairs did not prosper, and the troubles of the people increased every day. Nevertheless, the merciful and propitious Lord, lest our enemies should insult His law and say "Where is their God?," had shown us through the bishop of Puy, the lord Adhemar, how we could placate His anger and obtain His mercy.<sup>17</sup> For the benign Lord had sent His messengers to us, but because they were our brothers, we had not heeded them. Therefore, the bishop (Adhemar) appeared before Peter Desiderius, saying "Speak to the princes and all the people, and tell them you have come from distant lands to worship the Lord and you are His army. Therefore, let us be purged from our uncleanness and let each one turn from his evil ways. Then praying and fasting, let every one march around Jerusalem barefooted. If you do this and then make a great attack on the city on the ninth day, it will be captured. If you do not, all the evils that you have suffered will be multiplied." When the priest had said this to William Ugo, the brother of the bishop, to his lord, Count Ysoardus and to certain of the clergy, they assembled the princes and the people and addressed them. "Brothers, you know why we undertook this expedition and what we have suffered and that we are acting

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<sup>17</sup>Until his death, August 1, 1098, Adhemar, bishop of Puy, who was the representative of the Pope and had supervision of the entire crusade, had been able to play the part of mediator. After he died, there was no one to reconcile the two factions headed by Raymond of Toulouse and Bohemond. Hence this reference to Adhemar.

negligently, in that we are not constructing the machines that are needed to capture the city. Likewise we are not careful to reconcile the Lord to us, for we offend Him in many ways and have driven Him from us. Now, if it seems right to you, let each one become reconciled to his brother, whom he has offended, and let brother graciously forgive brother. After we have humbled ourselves before God in this manner, let us march around Jerusalem in bare feet, and with the aid of the relics of the Saints, invoke the mercy of the Lord, that the omnipotent God, who for us, His servants, assumed the flesh; who humbly rode into the city on an ass, to suffer death on the cross for our sins, may come to our aid. If we make this procession around the walls, for the honor and glory of His name, He will open the city to us and give us judgment upon His enemies and ours, who now contaminate the place where He suffered and the Holy Sepulchre; the enemy, whom we, with the aid of divine humility and in order to obtain our own salvation, are trying to drive out." These words were pleasing to both princes and people **and it was publicly decided that on the next Friday, the clergy should lead the procession with the crosses and the relics of the Saints, while the knights and all able-bodied men, with trumpets, standards and arms, should follow them barefooted.** All this we did according to the commands of God and the princes. When we reached that spot on the Mount of Olives, whence the Lord had ascended into Heaven after the Resurrection, the following exhortation was made to the people: "Now that we are on the very spot from which the Lord made His ascension and we can do nothing more to purify ourselves, except that each one of us forgive his brother, whom he has injured, that the Lord may forgive us." What more? All were reconciled to each other and with generous offerings we besought the mercy of God, that He should not now desert His people, whom He had led to such a glorius and splendid goal. Thus the mercy of God was obtained and everything that had been against us was now favorable. But although we avoided many troubles in this way, one we could not escape. While we marched around the city in procession, the Saracens and Turks made the circuit on the walls, ridiculing us in many ways. They placed many crosses on the walls in yokes (as a sign of disgrace, the yoke

was put on a criminal's neck), and made sport of them with blows and insulting actions. We, in turn, hoped to obtain the aid of God in storming the city by means of these same signs (the crosses) and we pressed the work day and night.

The duke of Normandy, the count of Flanders and Gaston of Beert constructed machines, also mantlets.<sup>18</sup> The direction of this work was assigned to Gaston by the princes, because he was a most noble lord, respected because of his skill and reputation, and he very cleverly hastened matters, by dividing the work. The princes busied themselves with obtaining and bringing in the material, while Gaston supervised the work of construction.

Likewise Count Raymond made William Richau superintendent of the work on Mount Sion, while the bishop of Albara brought in the timber with Saracens and others. The count's men siezed many Saracen castles and villages and forced the Saracens to work as though they were slaves. Thus fifty or sixty carried on their shoulders a great beam for the construction of machines at Jerusalem, that could not have been dragged by four pair of oxen. What more shall I say? All worked with a singleness of purpose, no one was slothful and no hands were idle. All worked without wages except the artisans, who were paid from a collection taken from the people. However, the count (Raymond) paid his workmen from his own resources. Surely the hand of the Lord was with us and aided those who were working. When our efforts were ended and the machines completed, the princes held a council and announced, "Let all prepare themselves for a battle on Thursday; in the meantime, pray, fast and give alms. Hand over your animals and servants to the artisans and carpenters, that they may bring in beams, poles, stakes, and branches to make mantlets. Every two knights should make one mantlet and one scaling ladder. Do not hesitate to work for the Lord, for our labors will soon be ended."

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<sup>18</sup>These mantlets were used to shelter the men who were attacking. They were usually made of a wickerwork or basketwork of twigs and rods so as to be light enough to carry easily. They were generally covered with hides as a protection from the firebrands hurled down from the walls. Such shields could be held over the men who were working close to the wall or could be used by men when making an assault. These mantlets seem to have been of great service to the crusaders at Jerusalem.



This proclamation was accepted by all. Then it was decided what part of the city each leader should attack and where his machines should be located. Meanwhile the Saracens in the city, noting the great number of machines that we had constructed, strengthened the weaker parts of the wall, so that it seemed that they could only be taken by the most desperate efforts. Because the Saracens had made so many and such strong fortifications to oppose our machines, the duke, the count of Flanders, and the count of Normandy spent the night before the day set for the attack, moving their machines, mantlets, and platforms to that side of the city which is between the church of St. Stephen and the valley of Jehosaphat. You who read this must not think that this was a light undertaking, for the machines were carried in parts, almost a mile to the place where they were to be set up. When morning came and the Saracens saw that all the machinery and tents had been moved during the night, they were amazed. Not only the Saracens were astonished, but our people as well, for they recognized that the hand of the Lord was with us. The change was made because the new point chosen for attack is more level and thus suitable for moving the machines up to the walls, which can not be done unless the ground is level, and thus it happened that the part of the city that seemed the weakest was not attacked because it was impossible to move the machines close to the walls. This part of the city is on the north.

The count (Raymond) and his men worked equally hard on Mount Sion, but they had much assistance from William Ebbiacus and the Genoese sailors, who although they had lost their ships at Joppa, as we have already related, had nevertheless been able to save ropes, mallets, spikes, axes, and hatchets, which were very necessary to us. But why delay the story? The appointed day arrived and the attack began. However, I want to say this first, that, according to our estimate and that of many others, there were sixty thousand fighting men within the city, not counting the women and those unable to bear arms, and there were not many of these. At the most we did not have more than twelve thousand able to bear arms, for there were many poor people and many sick. There were two or three hundred knights in our army as I reckon it, not more. I say

this, that you may realize that nothing, whether great or small, which is undertaken in the name of the Lord can fail, as the following pages show.

Our men began to undermine the towers and walls. From every side stones were hurled from the tormenti<sup>19</sup> and the pet-rariae and so many arrows that they fell like hail. The servants of God were sustained by the premises of their faith for any result, whether they should be killed or would presently prevail over their enemies. The battle showed no indication of victory, but when the machines were drawn nearer to the walls, they hurled not only stones and arrows, but also burning wood and straw. The wood was dipped in pitch, wax, and sulphur, then straw and tow was fastened on by an iron band, and when lighted, these firebrands were shot from the machines. All bound together by an iron band, I say, so that wherever they fell, the whole mass held together and continued to burn. Such missiles, burning as they shot upward, could not be resisted by swords or by high walls; it was not even possible for the defenders to find safety down behind the walls. Thus the fight continued from the rising to the setting sun in such splendid fashion that it is difficult to believe that anything more glorious was ever done. Then we called on the Almighty God, our leader and guide, confident in His mercy. Night brought fear to both sides. The Saracens feared that we would take the city during the night or on the next day, for the outer works were broken through and the ditch was filled, so that it was possible to make an entrance through the wall very quickly. On our part, we feared only that the Saracens would set fire to the machines that were moved close to the walls, and thus improve their situation. Thus on both sides it was a night of watchfulness, labor and sleepless caution. On one side, most certain hope, on the other, doubtful fear. We gladly labored to capture the city for the glory of God; they less willingly strove to resist our efforts for the sake of the laws of Mohammed. It is difficult to believe how great were the efforts made on both sides during the night.

When morning came, our men eagerly rushed to the walls and dragged the machines forward, but the Saracens had con-

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<sup>19</sup>See note 12.

structed so many machines, that for each one of ours, they now had nine or ten. Thus they greatly interfered with our efforts. This was the ninth day, on which the priest had said that we would capture the city (Peter Desiderius. See his prophecy above). But what checked the fulfilment of the prophecy? Our machines were now shaken apart by the blows of many stones, and our men lagged because they were very weary. However, the mercy of the Lord remained, which is never overcome nor conquered, but always a source of support in times of adversity. One incident must not be omitted. Two women tried to bewitch one of our hurling machines, but a stone struck and crushed them as well as three slaves, so that their lives were extinguished and the evil incantations were averted.

By noon, our men were greatly discouraged. They were weary and at the end of their resources. There were many enemies resisting each one of ours: the walls were very high and strong and the great resources and skill that the enemy exhibited in repairing their defenses seemed too great for us to overcome. But, while we hesitated, irresolute and the enemy exulted in our discomfiture, the healing mercy of God inspired us and turned our sorrow into joy, for the Lord did not forsake us. While a council was being held to decide whether or not our machines should be withdrawn, for some were burned and the rest badly shaken to pieces, a knight on the Mount of Olives began to wave his shield to those who were with the count and others, signaling them to advance. Who this knight was, we have been unable to find out.<sup>20</sup> At this signal, our men again began to take heart, and some began to batter the wall, while others began to ascend by means of scaling ladders and ropes. Our archers shot burning firebrands and in this way checked the attack that the Saracens were making upon the wooden towers of the duke and the two counts. These firebrands, moreover, were wrapped in cotton. This shower of fire drove the defenders from the walls. Then the duke quickly released the long drawbridge which had protected the side of the wooden tower next to the wall, and it swung down from the top, being fastened to the middle of the tower, making a bridge, over

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<sup>20</sup>Note Raymond's desire to have his readers believe that this may have been a miracle.



which the men began to enter Jerusalem, bravely and fearlessly. Among those who entered first were Tancred and the duke of Lotharingia (Godfrey) and the amount of blood that they shed on that day is incredible. All ascended after them and the Saracens now began to suffer.

Strange to relate, however, at this very time when the city was practically captured by the Franks, the Saracens were still fighting on the other side, where the count was attacking the wall, as though it should never be captured. But now that our men had possession of the walls and towers, wonderful sights were to be seen. Some of our men, (and this was more merciful), cut off the heads of their enemies; others shot them with arrows, so that they fell from the towers; others tortured them longer by casting them into the flames. Piles of heads, hands and feet were to be seen in the streets of the city. It was necessary to pick one's way over the bodies of men and horses. But these were small matters compared to what happened at the temple of Solomon, a place where religious services are ordinarily chanted. What happened there? If I tell the truth, it will exceed your powers of belief. So let it suffice to say this much at least, that in the temple and portico of Solomon, men rode in blood up to their knees and the bridle reins. Indeed it was a just and splendid judgment of God, that this place should be filled with the blood of the unbelievers, when it had suffered so long from their blasphemies. The city was filled with corpses and blood. Some of the enemy took refuge in the tower of David and petitioned Count Raymond for protection and surrendered the tower into his hands.

Now that the city was taken, it was worth all our previous labors and hardships, to see the devotion of the pilgrims at the Holy Sepulchre. How they rejoiced and exulted and sang the ninth chant to the Lord. It was the ninth day, the ninth joy and exultation, and of perpetual happiness. The ninth sermon, the ninth chant was demanded by all. This day, I say, will be famous in all future ages, for it turned our labors and sorrows into joy and exultation; this day, I say, marks the justification of all Christianity and the humiliation of paganism; our faith was renewed. "The Lord made this day and we rejoiced and exulted in it," for on this day the Lord revealed Himself to

His people and blessed them. On this day the lord Adhemar, bishop of Puy<sup>21</sup> was seen in the city by many people. Many also testified that he was the first to scale the wall, and that he summoned the knights and people to follow him. . . . This day was the 15th of July.

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<sup>21</sup>See note 17.

## A SPECIMEN REPORT BASED ON THE FOREGOING NARRATIVES

To illustrate better the method of working out these exercises, topic number 3 has been outlined and then put in the form that a final report might have.

### 1. Outline

What changes were made in the plan of attack during the siege? What reasons can be found for such changes?

#### I. Original location of the different leaders.

##### 1. On the north.

(a) Robert of Normandy (*Anonymous*, p. 14; *Raymond*, p. 22).

(b) Robert of Flanders (*Raymond*, p. 22; *Anonymous*, p. 14).

Godfrey (*Raymond*, p. 22).

##### 2. On the west.

(a) Godfrey (*Anonymous*, p. 14).

Tancred (*Anonymous*, p. 14).

(b) Raymond (*Raymond*, pp. 22, 23).

#### II. Change of position on the north.

1. Reasons for the change (*Anonymous*, p. 17; *Raymond*, p. 30; *Fulk*, p. 20).

2. How the change was made (*Anonymous*, p. 17; *Raymond*, p. 30).

3. Final location (*Anonymous*, p. 17; *Raymond*, p. 30).

#### III. Raymond's move to Mt. Sion on the south.

##### 1. Reasons for this change.

(a) The real reason (*Raymond*, p. 23).

(b) The reason assigned (*Raymond*, p. 23).

2. Evidence of Raymond's location on Mt. Sion (*Anonymous*, pp. 14, 17, 18; *Fulk*, p. 20).

3. Where Raymond made his final attack (*Raymond*, p. 33; *Anonymous*, pp. 17, 18; *Fulk*, p. 20).



*2. Discussion*

Apparently the crusaders were not numerous enough to besiege the city on all sides, so they selected what seemed to be the most vulnerable places in the fortifications. Thus the city was attacked on two sides; on the South by Raymond of Toulouse, and on the North, by the other leaders.

Robert of Normandy first stationed himself near the old church of St. Stephen (*Anonymous*, p. 14; *Raymond*, p. 22). To the west of this position was Robert of Flanders. According to Raymond's account (p. 22), Godfrey was also on the North, but this may refer to the change of position that was made just before the final attack. The *Anonymous* states (p. 14) that Godfrey and Tancred first located their camp on the West, probably well to the northwest. The original position of these men and their followers probably extended from the center of the northern side of the city around the corner of the West. Raymond says (pp. 22, 23) that the count of Toulouse first pitched his camp on the West, probably just South of Godfrey and Tancred, but the other writers make no mention of this.

All three writers agree that this first position on the northwest was changed (*Anonymous*, p. 17; *Raymond*, p. 30; *Fulk*, p. 20). The Saracens had so greatly strengthened the wall at this point, while the crusaders were constructing their machines, that the leaders decided that it would be better to attack in another place, where the defenders were not so well prepared for the defense. Raymond (p. 30) further says that the ground was more level at the place which was selected for the final attack. That this was an important consideration is shown by the difficulties that Raymond had in moving his machines up close to the wall (*Anonymous*, p. 18).

The machinery, which had been constructed near the location of the first camp, was moved during the night. This was a difficult piece of work, and, in the morning, the Saracens were greatly surprised to note that the crusaders were prepared to attack the wall in a new quarter and that they had moved their camp (*Raymond*, p. 30) as well as their machines.

The new location was almost a mile from the first position of the army. Raymond says that the northern part of the army

was located in the space between the church of St. Stephen and the valley of Jehosaphat, which is on the eastern side of the city. (See map, p. 15.) The *Anonymous* states (p. 17) that the machines and the tower were dragged to the eastern side, but he may mean that they were moved to the East of the first camp. Our other writer, *Fulk*, (p. 20) says that the tower was moved by night and set up at a corner of the city. It would thus seem that the final attack of this wing of the army was made on the northeast corner.

Raymond (pp. 22, 23) says that the count of Toulouse, who had first established his camp on the western side of the city, while reconnoitering, decided that Mt. Sion was a better position. He decided to move his camp, but encountered opposition on the part of the other leaders. He made the change, but according to his chaplain became very unpopular because of his action.\* (*Raymond*, p. 23.)

It would seem that the real reason for this change was the irregular character of the land to the West, for a ravine would have made it difficult to move the siege engines close to the walls. However, this was not the reason that the count gave. According to the story of his chaplain, he was so much impressed by the church on Mt. Sion and its sacred associations, that he became much alarmed lest the Saracens should get possession of it and defile it. He thus tried to make out that he was really doing a pious act in occupying such a holy spot. (See the speech that *Raymond* puts into the mouth of the count, p. 23.) Raymond already had the reputation of being more or less of a hypocrite, for he had used the holy lance that was found at Antioch to further his own interests. Here again he was trying to allay the jealousies of the other leaders, by trying to convince them that he was guided solely by religious motives. It would seem that the other crusaders knew his methods, for eventually he was not able to persuade his men to follow him to the new location that he had selected for his camp, except by bribing them with money.

Although *Raymond* is the only writer who says that the count of Toulouse first located his camp to the West of the city, there

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\*This is an evidence of the fear that the other leaders had of Raymond's ambition.

is little reason to doubt that his final position was on Mt. Sion (*Anonymous*, p. 14, 17, 18; *Fulk*, p. 20). Just what part of the wall he attacked is more difficult to determine.

It would seem likely that Raymond attacked the western part of the southern wall, or the southwest corner. However, we are told that the tower of David was surrendered to him and that "the gate at which the pilgrims had always been accustomed to pay tribute" was opened (*Anonymous*, p. 18). The gate by the tower of David, the David or Joppa gate, which opened on the Joppa road, from which port the pilgrims usually came. Why Raymond entered by this gate, may be explained by his failure to force an entrance through the wall, before the other division of the crusading army had done so at the northwest corner. Moreover, as the gate was opened from within, Raymond and his men undoubtedly gave up their efforts to force their way in at the place where they had been working, and sought an easier entrance through the western gate.











